1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVORS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

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342 raised portions, called *tïn*, within the huts on which the people
352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often used for churning, and with this part women have nothing to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

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FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'POTKULL.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kuvn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kuvn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

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three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies.

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed.

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room.

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*.

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234 343 352 412 415

The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and the *kalkani*.

The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking-vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 412 415

The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kashmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

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as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

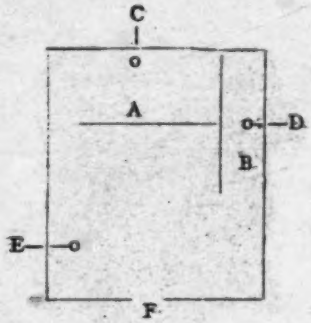
Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 352 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

357 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 512 788 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 272 415 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

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234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

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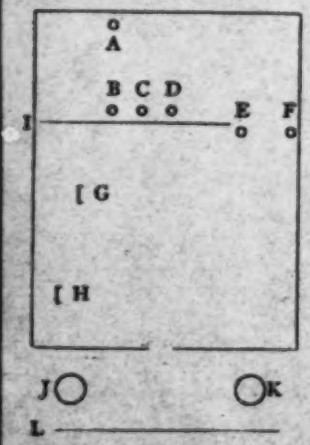
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *palkhatitthwaskal.*
H. The *thratthwaskal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pokvolkarz.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Mòdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

THE CONTENTS OF THE POH

(*a*) In the inner room.
- One *mani*.
- Three *persin*.
- Two *thrnum*.
- Two *kòghlag*.
- One *persinkudriki*.
- One *pohvet* or *pohpet*.
- One *kwoi*.
- One *kwoinòrtpet*.
- Several *tedshk*.

(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.
- *Pelk*, or lamp.
- *Idrkwoi*.

(*c*) In the outer room.
- Two fireplaces
  - *Pelkhatitthwashal*.
  - *Thratthwashal*.
- Several *alug*.
- *Uppun*.
- *Mòrkudriki*.
- *Karpun*.
- *Turavali*.
- *Gudsholi*.
- Unused *kòghlag*.

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

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234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:
415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

[1] [The Poh--Analyst]

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vêdrmâ, kârs wadrth vêdrmâ, mân mas vêdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

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The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkûbi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342

The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 356 372 352 252

Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad, and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

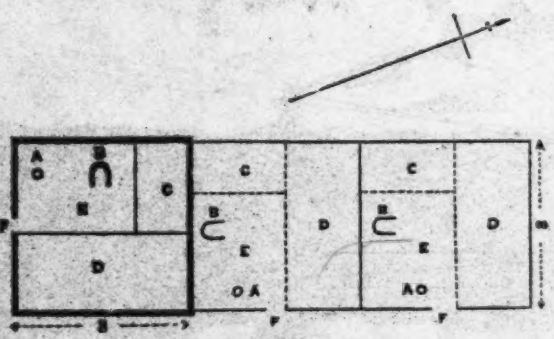
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. II.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûdr[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

1 [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—
of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[325] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
352 " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
" firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
234 themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Matt* or *Mott*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 833 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with [732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing [845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was [787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants [186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never [352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertilkh*, the raised earthen [515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case [171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very 831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershil*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on